

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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O 240842Z JAN 76 ZFF-6

FM USDEL SECRETARY BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SECTO 01105

NODIS

MADRID FOR S/S ONLY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1,3

TAGS: TU, GR, CY, PFOR

SUBJECT: LETTER TO THE SECRETARY FROM TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER

1. FOLLOWING LETTER FROM TUKISH FOREIGN MINISTER TO SECRETARY WAS HANDED TO SECRETARY DURING SHORT CONVERSATION AT NATO MEETING. CAGLAYANGIL STATED THAT IT SUMMED UP SITUATION ON CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS AS SEEN BY TURKS AND THAT HE WAS FRANKLY PESSIMISTIC. BEGIN TEXT: BRUSSELS, JANUARY 23,1976, DEAR MR. SECRETARY, I THANK YOU FOR YOU MESSAGE TRANSMITTED TO ME ON JAN 19, BY AMBASSADOR MACOMBER WHICH OF COURSE AS USUAL I HAVE READ WITH INTEREST. I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN TO YOU AGAIN MY VIEWS ON THE RESUMPTION OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS.

AS YOU KNOW WHEN WE LAST MET IN BRUSSELS I HAVE EXPLAINED TO YOU THE REASONS OF MY PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. I SAID THEN TAT WE HAVE REACHED A DECISIVE STAGE IN THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WHERE IT HAS BECOME INCUMBENT UPON TURKEY AND GREECE TO TRY TO EXERT

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THEIR INFLUENCE ON THEIR RESPECTIVE COMMUNITY

LEADERS. IT IS EVIDENT FOR SOMETIME THAT NOT ONLY ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS BUT MR. DENKTAS AS WELL HAVE THEIR OWN DEFINITE VIEWS WITH REGARD TO THE FINAL POLITICAL SOLUTION. UNFORTUNATELY MY PROPOSALS DID NOT MEET WITH THE APPROVAL OF MR. BITSIOS. NEVERTHELESS WE MANAGED TO AGREE THAT THE TERRITORIAL ASPECTS AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM BE DISCUSSED SIMULTANEOUSLY IN TWO SUB-COMMITTEES FOR THE PURPOSE OF REACHING A PACKAGE DEAL.

I ALSO EXPLAINED TO MR. BITSIOS THAT THE CREATION OF THESE TWO SUB-COMMITTEES WAS ESSENTIAL IN VIEW OF THE INTERNAL POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS OF TURKEY AND GREECE. IT IS EXPECTED THAT ANY INITIAL CYPRIOT PROPOSAL ON THE TERRITORIAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM CANNOT BE OF A NATURE TO BE ACCEPTED BY MR. DENKTAS OR ENDORSED BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS ARRANGEMENT WAS TO ALLOW THE TWO SUB-COMMITTEES TO CONTINUE THEIR DELIBERATIONS WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE GREEK AND TURKISH EXPERTS AND AT THE SAME TIME TO ENABLE TURKEY AND GREECE TO REACH A COMMON UNDERSTANDING IN SECRECY ON THE FINAL POLITICAL SOLUTION. UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, THIS APPEARS TO ME TO BE THE ONLY FEASIBLE WAY IN WHICH I MAY BE ABLE TO PRESENT TO MY GOVERNMENT A PICTURE UPON WHICH A COMMON CONSENSUS COULD BE REACHED. AFTER THE BRUSSELS AGREEMENT THERE SEEMED TO BE NO OBSTACLE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS EXCEPT FOR THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S INSISTENCE THAT THE INITIAL PHASE OF THE TALKS IN VIENNA SHOULD LAST FOR TWO WEEKS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF UN SECRETARY GENERAL. NOW, THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WANTS THAT THE TERRITORIAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM BE SUBSTANTIALLY NEGOTIATED BETWEEN MR. DENKTAS AND MR. CLERIDES AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL DR. WALDHEIM TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN THEM.

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AS I HAVE EXPLAINED TO YOU AND TO MY OTHER COLLEAGUES MR. DENKTAS STRONGLY BELIEVES THAT HE IS NOT IN A POSITION TO DISCUSS ALONE THE TERRITORIAL ASPECTS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. HE HAS PUBLICLY AND REPEATEDLY MAINTAINED THE POSITION THAT AS TURKEY IS RESPONSIBLE UNDER INTERNATIONAL TREATIES FOR THE SECURITY OF HIS COMMUNITY THE

QUESTION OF THE REARRANGEMENT OF THE BORDERS SHOULD ALSO BE NEGOTIATED BY TURKEY. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD THE GREEK SIDE MAINTAIN ITS POSITION. THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS IN VIENNA WILL QUICKLY RUN INTO SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL MOST PROBABLY BECOME UNAVOIDABLE.

SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM IS RELUCTANT TO ATTEND THE TALKS IF HE IS NOT ASSURED THAT THE NEW INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS IN VIENNA ARE LIKELY TO YIELD IMMEDIATE AND SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS. DR. WALDHEIM MAY BE RIGHT AS HE WAS NOT TOLD OF THE SECRET CLAUSES OF THE BRUSSELS AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TWO SUB-COMMITTEES. AND THE ROLE TO BE PLAYED BY TURKEY AND GREECE.

WHEN IT CAME TO MY KNOWLEDGE THAT THE INITIAL PHASE OF THE TALKS WOULD BE LIKELY TO RUN INTO DIFFICULTIES I HAVE CALLED TO MY OFFICE THE GREEK AMBASSADOR IN ANKARA AND TOLD HIM: QUOTE MR. DENKTAS IS RELUCTANT TO START THE NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA. IT IS BECAUSE OF OUR SINCERE INSISTENCE THAT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS CAN BE RESUMED. AS AGREED, MR. CLERIEDES WILL PRESENT THE GREEK TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS UPON WHICH MR. DENKTAS WOULD STRONGLY REACT AND IN TURN SUBMIT HIS PROPOSALS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BI-ZONAL FEDERATION. THUS THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD RUN INTO A SERIOUS DEADLOCK. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE ARE AGAINST SUBSTANTIAL TALKS, WE BELIEVE THAT THE TWO INTERLOCUTORS CAN HAVE MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS IN VIENNA ON THE PRINCIPLES OF A A FUTURE POLITICAL SOLUTION
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WITHOUT RUNNING INTO A GRAVE DEADLOCK. WE BELIEVE THAT IS IS FURTHER POSSIBLE FOR BOTH NEGOTIATORS TO REFER THE TERRITORIAL AS WELL AS THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM TO THE TWO SUB-COMMITTEES TO BE ESTABLISHED IN NICOSIA AS WE HAD AGREED WITH MR. BITSIOS. "UNQUOTE

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FM USDEL SECRETARY BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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I ALSO PROPOSED TO THE GREEK GOVERNMENT THAT WE SHOULD JOINTLY DISCLOSE IN CONFIDENCE THE FULL CONTENTS OF THE BRUSSELS AGREEMENT TO DR. WALDHEIM AS HE HAS ALREADY LEARNED FROM HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN CYPRUS. THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT TO MY GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT MR. DENKTAS TO WHOM THE SECRET PARTS OF THE BRUSSELS AGREEMENT WAS COMMUNICATED ON A CONFIDENTIAL BASIS SAW FIT TO DISCLOSE THIS INFORMATION TO THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL IN CYPRUS. IT IS ALL THE MORE NECESSARY TO TELL DR. WALDHEIM THE EXACT NATURE OF THE BRUSSELS AGREEMENT AS THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAS INFORMED ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS THROUGH ITS EMISSARY, AMBASSADOR TZUNIS, OF THE CONTENTS OF THE AGREEMENT. I ALSO SUGGESTED THAT WE JOINTLY REQUEST THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL TO BE PRESENT IN VIENNA AS WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO HIS ENDEAVOURS AND THE RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER HIS AUSPICES. I FURTHER ADDED THAT THERE WAS NO NEED TO QUALIFY THE INITIAL PHASE OF THE TALKS AS MERELY PROCEDURAL AND AFTER FEW DAYS OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LINES THAT I HAVE SUGGESTED

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ABOVE, THE SECRETARY GENERAL COULD INVITE THE TWO COMMUNITY LEADERS TO RECONVENE ONCE A MONTH UNDER HIS AUSPICES TO REVIEW THE PROGRESS THAT WOULD BE

ACHIEVED DURING THE MEETINGS TO BE HELD BETWEEN MR. DENKTAS AND MR. CLERIDES WHO WOULD CONTINUOUSLY SUPERVISE THE WORK OF THE TWO SUB-COMMITTEES. UNFORTUNATELY, THE REPLY OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAS NOT BEEN ENCOURAGING. THEY ADMIT THAT THERE WILL BE A VERY GREAT GAP BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF MR. CLERIDES AND MR. DENKTAS WHEN THEY MEET IN VIENNA. THEY NEVERTHELESS INSIST THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL SHOULD TRY TO BRIDGE THIS GAP. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT DOES NOT WANT TO UNDERSTAND MY OBJECTIVES IN MAKING THE ARRANGEMENTS EXPLAINED ABOVE.

I HAVE RELUCTANTLY COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT LIKE ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS DOES NOT WANT PROGRESS IN THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS AND ATTACHES MORE IMPORTANCE TO PROPAGANDA IN ORDER TO INFLUENCE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION IN GENERAL AND THE U.S. CONGRESS IN PARTICULAR. NEVERTHELESS MR. DENKTAS WILL, I AM SURE, GO TO VIENNA ON FEBRUARY 17TH. IF THE GREEK SIDE DOES NOT CHANGE ITS ATTITUDE, I AM AFRAID THAT ALL OUR SINCERE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS TOWARDS THE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WILL YIELD NO RESULTS. (SIGNED) I.S. CAGLAYANGIL. END TEXT.

2. SECRETARY URGED CONTINUED EFFORT AND SAID THAT WITHOUT SOME PROGRESS ON CYPRUS, WE ARE IN TROUBLE WITH AID BILL AND THEREFORE, WITH FACILITIES NEGOTIATIONS.

3. CAGLAYANGIL SAID THEY HAVE TAKEN DIFFICULT POLITICAL DECISION TO ANNOUNCE TROOP WITHDRAWALS PUBLICLY AND HOPED THIS WOULD BE HELPFUL. IN NEXT FEW DAYS THEY WOULD ANNOUNCE A 1,500 MAN WITHDRAWAL MAKING A TOTAL OF 11,000 WITHDRAWN (PRESUMABLY FROM HIGH POINT). SECRETARY WELCOMED THIS AS HELPFUL BUT URGED CYPRUS PROGRESS
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AS WELL. KISSINGER

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